

## Amusements.

**ACADEMY OF MUSIC.**—This Evening.—De Pol's Entertainment. Star Ballet Combination.

**WALLACK'S THEATRE.**—This Evening.—"The Town and Country." Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Wallace.

**NIELSEN'S GARDEN.**—This Evening.—"The Black and White."—Grand Feature.

**OLYMPIC THEATRE.**—This Evening.—"A Midsummer Night's Dream."

**NEW-YORK THEATRE.**—This Evening.—"Under the Canvas."

**FINEST THEATRE.**—This Evening.—"The Grand Duke of Gerolstein."

**FIFTH-AVE. THEATRE.**—This Evening.—"Ye Grand Duke of Gerolstein."

**REINER'S AMERICAN MUSEUM.**—Day and Evening. Family War and "The Great War."—A Living "Gloria."—Van Amburg & Co.'s Menagerie—200,000 Curiousities.

**NEW-YORK CHURCH.**—Fourth-st.—This Evening.—Feats of Equitism.

**STERNWAY HALL.**—This Evening.—Charles Dickens—Christmas Carol—and "The Trial from Pickwick."

**BRUNYAN HALL.**—Union Square.—This Evening.—"The Pigmies."

**DODWORTH HALL.**—This Evening.—"Nast's Caricatures."

**NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.**—Open Day and Evening. Fourth-st. and Twenty-third-st.

**ARTISTS' FUND SOCIETY.**—Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of Paintings. Day and Evening. 812 Broadway.

**EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS.**—By the Society of Artists. 812 Broadway.

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**MASSACHUSETTS LECTURE ROOM.**—Day and Evening. 812 Broadway.

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**BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC.**—This Evening.—"Nast's Caricatures."

## Business Notices.

**STAIR & MARGUS.**  
At Sale.—Solid Silver Forks, Spoons and Knives, the quality of which is guaranteed and guaranteed by S. M. Stair, at price worthy the attention of the closest buyers.

**WEDDING AND HOLIDAY PRESENTS.**  
FINE SILVER PLATED WARE  
By the  
J. L. HARRIS MANUFACTURING CO.  
Rensselaer, N. Y., 74 Mulberry-st., near William-st.

Our large assortment of goods, comprising every article usually found in this department of Holiday Trade, is of superior workmanship and design, of our own make, plated in White Metal, and is now on hand at Wholesale prices. N. B.—FULL WEIGHT OF SILVER GUARANTEED.

**WASH.**  
AND DURABLE  
UNDERGARMENTS  
AT LOWEST PRICES.  
VANDERLIP & TAYLOR,  
No. 96 BOWERY.  
No. 939 BROADWAY, cor. Twenty-second-st., and  
No. 165 FIFTH-AVE.

**REMARKABLE DEAL.**  
**FURS.**—Mr. F. BOOS, formerly of No. 41 Madison-st., has removed his Fur Store to 40 Broadway.

**EXPOSITION UNIVERSAL, PARIS, 1867.**  
The HONORABLE MR. ELIAS HOWE, Jr., No. 69 Broadway, New York, awarded, under the name of ELIAS HOWE, a Gold Medal, given to American Sewing-Machine.

**Carton Vignette, 63 per dozen. Duplicates, \$2.**  
A large quantity of goods, comprising every article usually found in this department of Holiday Trade, is of superior workmanship and design, of our own make, plated in White Metal, and is now on hand at Wholesale prices. N. B.—FULL WEIGHT OF SILVER GUARANTEED.

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public opinion on the European continent. It will not be long before England will find out that the execution was a great blunder.

We trust that none of our readers will be persuaded into paying large sums for admission to the readings of Mr. Dickens. We understand that speculators have purchased seats and are endeavoring to sell them at extravagant prices. Mr. Dickens is announced for four nights now, but he will read a great many more nights before he leaves us, and our friends will all have a chance to hear him without being swindled.

The last Congress, by a large majority, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to cancel Treasury Notes at the rate of \$4,000,000 per month, with a view to Resumption. The present House has just voted—Yeas, 138; Nays, 38—that the Secretary shall stop this canceling till further orders. The Senate has yet to act on the resolution. We trust it will only assent on a clear understanding that we are to return to Specie Payments at a specified and not distant day. Our own judgment demands that gradual contraction with a view to Resumption. We would resume at once, and thus contract, if contraction should necessarily result from Resumption—not otherwise. It must not be forgotten that there are some \$300,000,000 of specie in the country which is now merchandise, but which Resumption will restore to its natural and proper function as Money; so, if \$300,000,000 of Greenbacks and National Bank notes should be driven in and canceled because of Resumption, we should still have more money than now.

It gives us great pleasure to publish the following appeal for aid for those Italian patriots who were wounded in the recent Roman revolution. There are hundreds of thousands of American hearts who sympathize with the brave fighters. We hope that they may practically sympathize with the poor wounded. American newspapers which are friendly to the cause for which Garibaldi fought are requested to copy the appeal:

To the Editor of The Tribune.  
Sir: Will you kindly inform the American public that sixteen American, English and Italian ladies have formed themselves into a committee, which meets daily at the house of Senator Masio, Via del Fossi, No. 16, Florence, for the purpose of receiving money and hospital supplies for the wounded of 1867. Money and supplies received are, by the rules of the committee, distributed to the sufferers on the recommendation of one of six surgeons intimately acquainted with their individual necessities. The officers of the committee are: Marchioness Pauline Trubiano, Honorary President; Mrs. C. P. Marsh, Treasurer; Countess Masio, Vice-Treasurer; Signora Nicoletti, Secretary. All subscription lists bear the Secretary's signature. The money should be made payable to Countess Marianna Masio, Via del Fossi, No. 16, Firenze. I am, dear Sir, instructed by the committee to appeal to your readers in favor of the wounded of 1867, feeling that such an appeal will meet with generous response. Trusting that you will send a number of your paper containing this appeal to the committee, I remain dear Sir, respectfully yours,  
MARIA MASIO, Via del Fossi, No. 16, Piazza Terrena.  
FIRENZE, 20th Dec., 1867.

## THE IMPEACHMENT QUESTION.

The House has closed the impeachment question. As we expected, the project has been defeated by a decisive vote—108 to 57. We need scarcely say we are satisfied with the result. We have never felt that good would come from forcing upon the country an issue which could only postpone reconstruction, embarrass the finances, and perhaps impose upon us the responsibility of meeting a revolution. We never considered impeachment as a mere policy. It is too high and solemn. Instead of its being an improper proceeding in itself, we have contended that there is no act more expressly provided in the Constitution, and that a failure to obey this explicit law would be in the highest degree revolutionary. Impeachment is the constitutional safeguard between the people and a Dictatorship. To regard the Presidency as an intact, independent office, responsible only to the moral influence called "the people," and to a political mob called a "convention," is to make our ruler as absolute as the Emperor of China. Some of the President's advisers have not ceased to urge upon him the irresponsibility of his office, while earnest men upon our side contended that the real question was, "Could Congress refuse to impeach the President?" They argued very justly that, if we make the precedent that Presidents may do as they please, then they may legislate when it suits their fancy, and construe the laws when they are in a judicial humor; they may bring into their high office the obsequy of George III., and the licentiousness of George IV., and public liberty will depend, not upon written law, but upon the nerve of the first demagogue who reaches the White House.

While we admit this, we cannot resist the conviction that to adopt impeachment now, would be to bring upon the country greater evils than those we seek to avoid. To the Republican party, Mr. Johnson is of more use in the White House than he would be anywhere else. Impeachment would make him a martyr; while, with no more evidence than this enormous volume of testimony, the Senate could never convict him. The country sees in Mr. Johnson an obstinate man who means honestly to deal with a question which he of all men is the least fitted to decide. To ask a representative of his class in the South to consider the negro question on a liberal basis is to ask him to betray a race which has been a successful rival in labor, although an inferior in the eyes of the law, the church, and society. We have a President to whom a prejudice is a conviction, and in whose mind for fifty years a negro has never been more than a skilled mule, and we ask him to confer upon the male the only right which has kept himself from political degradation. This has been the great difficulty with Mr. Johnson; and, when he finds casuists as ready as Mr. Black and Mr. Seward, and sophists as eager to defend his cause as Mr. Cowan and Mr. Doolittle, and politicians like Mr. Raymond and Mr. Weed willing to endorse him, and to promise him the endorsement of the Republican party, we can understand the persistence with which he clings to his unfortunate and pernicious policy. Nor do we place on the shoulders of the President all the blame of the present trouble. He had Republicanism enough to go with him—to cheer him on—to applaud his course as liberal and patriotic. He found Republican conventions willing to sustain him, and to sacrifice the negro, provided our office-giving Caesar with 20,000 palpable offices could be conciliated. These men only left Mr. Johnson when they saw the cloud of popular wrath rising over his head. While he was honestly wrong, they dishonestly followed his lead to serve their turn upon him. We forget that in traversing his record we traverse a record that many of our own friends would not care to face. Long since, when these men were sustaining the President, we remonstrated with them

and denounced his policy. When they swiftly changed, and demanded impeachment, we resisted it as a concession to popular passion. We held that impeachment was a judicial task, and not political, and that, unless the nation's existence demanded it, there was too much to be lost by entering upon a harassing and purposeless investigation. We felt this especially as success was doubtful, and failure would only restore the Rebels to power.

By impeachment now we cannot atone for our own errors in 1865, nor undo the mischief the President has done. Impeachment would not be a punishment, for in the tardy process of law, with Mr. Garrett Davis—a talking Judge—and every Democratic Senator privileged to debate for a month, the trial would continue to the end of the President's term. Gen. Butler's theory that he might be superseded was too dangerous to be accepted. To have made the precedent that a majority of the House could suspend the Executive for an unlimited period would be to place the whole Government at the mercy of a majority, and majorities have passions and prejudices, and do heedless things. We do not know what temper the next House will exhibit. It is possible the Democrats may be in power, and under the law as Gen. Butler construes it they could speedily remove President Chase or President Grant. We have taken from the President all power of harm. We have placed Reconstruction beyond his reach. We have given the negro the ballot, and it will require peace and careful legislation to confirm him in his new responsibility. We cannot afford to waste that time in impeachment ceremonies. We shall have burdens enough to carry in the next campaign, without making Mr. Johnson a martyr and carrying him also. As it is, the Democratic leaders have formally warned him that he cannot enter their party. They accept his aid and his offices to make war upon us, but they insolently say that when he has given them this aid they have no further use for him. Impeachment, without better reasons than any we have seen, would only throw Mr. Johnson into the hands of a powerful party, and compel that party to make him its leader.

We say "impeachment without better reasons." The President has done much for which we have severely censured him. He has appointed Rebels to office. He has sought to usurp the legislative power by attempting to reconstruct the South without appealing to Congress. He has degraded amnesty into a political influence, at the expense of the gracious mercy that rests in his office. He may be even charged with attempting to make a treaty of peace with public enemies without the consent of the Senate, which has a direct advisory and concurring power in all treaties of peace. But he did this two years ago, and was sustained by Republican conventions, against our earnest protest. Since then, however, he has removed Republicans from office, and done many rash and painful things. This only proves that a Republican candidate became an anti-Republican President. That would be good ground for impeachment before a Republican Convention, but not before a National Congress. Our business is to continue the intrepid legislation of last session—to support the President when he is right, and assail him when wrong—to force upon him a clear, well-defined and resolute policy. We have done this in Reconstruction; we have done it in our well-intended and imperfectly digested Tenure-of-Office bill. We must remember the lessons of our Baltimore Convention experience, and be sure we have for our next candidates representative men. Mr. Johnson was nominated by the "hurrah-boy," melodramatic, blood-and-thunder feeling of noisy loyalty—just as we are requested now to nominate negative and uncertain men by the roll of the drum. We protested against the "hurrah" business in 1864—just as we protest against the drum-tap business now. We can best avoid impeachment scandals by electing men whose records cannot be impeached.

One point more. We trust the country will not fail to note that Congress has acted in this matter with patience—with wisdom—with serene dignity—without passion. A few individual members may have said intemperate things, but the action of Congress has not been intemperate. Impeachment has been put to rest. The National Grand Inquest finds no bill of indictment against Andrew Johnson. Now let us proceed to Retrenchment, Financial Reform, and the final Reconstruction of the States.

## RULING BY THE ROPE.

If we recur again and speedily to the Fenian executions, it is partly because all mankind is interested in this age of international intercourse in the general advancement of humanity, partly because these judicial severities have brought a personal sorrow into many American homes, and partly because a good understanding between Great Britain and the United States is extremely desirable, and is not likely to be promoted by a disregard upon the other side of the ocean of the almost universal opinion upon this. We intend to make no argument here upon the guilt or the innocence of the unfortunate prisoners; for they are beyond the reach of our sympathy or our hatred, and have appeared before a tribunal which will judge them with a tenderness unknown in British Courts or Cabinets. But if we admit that, according to the letter of English law, they were guilty, the question arises how far the Government which executed them was guilty also; and whether acknowledged injustice, continued through several centuries, may not be pleaded in set-off by those who have received from their ancestors only a natural legacy of revenge. But we do not care to dwell with too much pertinacity upon the past. All that is behind us, connected with Irish history, is simply revolting, and we turn with relief, even if we turn hopelessly, to the future. Whatever may be its political vicissitudes, Ireland will remain; and if it is to remain an integral portion of the British empire, and the British policy of severity is to be persisted in, it seems to us that the absolute extermination of the Irish race, or at least its complete removal from its natal soil, will be logically necessary. Now, it must be remembered, as a leading historical fact, that the Irish people, enslaved, starved, massacred, as it has been, is to-day unconquered, and in the true sense of the word, unconquerable. We do not know any shameful wrong, any political outrage, anything which would thoroughly break the hearts of an ordinary people, to which this devoted race has not been subjected by its masters. To its eternal credit, let it be asserted, that, practically, it has never succumbed; it has been ruled mainly by invincible force; it has never really had any other government than a government of garrisons, nor has it ever shown the slightest disposition to submit quietly to the domination of the English settlers. British laws and the servants of the British crown

have been more thoroughly naturalized and accepted in Asia, in Africa, wherever else they have penetrated, than in Ireland; and yet at this late day, after many and prolonged experiments, and all of them failures, England expects to manage Ireland solely by the sword and the gibbet. Here is a people naturally kind-hearted and generous and grateful; here is a race showing everywhere else a reasonable degree of assimilation; here is a nation eminent for quickness of parts and a fine human character; and this people, this race, this nation, England cannot govern without periodical bloodshed, without keeping up something very like serfdom, without atrocious violations of the main principles of Christianity! The legitimate deduction from such plain facts is that England should never have undertaken the task at all. When Mr. Carlyle, in his "Cromwell," scolds so savagely about the vices of the Irish race, and rants of the difficulty of ruling it, except as wild beasts are ruled, we cannot but remark a maxim which this author has sometimes found convenient—"The tools to him who can use them." These tools, in the case of Ireland, have been used so dexterously that the poor country could hardly have been worse off if it had been left entirely to its own management. It is England that has kept up Irish identity, has fostered Irish feeling, has made the Irishman a stranger in his own land, has by class legislation rendered his material and intellectual advancement impossible; and it is England which, when he violates the laws, will show him no mercy, although so many good and honorable men demand it in his behalf. It must be remembered that we are speaking quite generally, as we must do in discussing national acts; and we entertain no doubt that the best mind and heart of the nation was upon the side of mercy. This, however, availed but little; it undoubtedly saved some lives, and if it could have had the force which justly belonged to it, it might have saved them all upon that dark and fatal day. Still, it cannot be denied that there was a cry for blood, and it is not worth while now to ask whether it was that of the minority or the majority of the British people. Execution has been done on Allen and Larkin, and O'Brien—the hangman, Calcraft, has come to the rescue of the British Empire—and now, what next? Many are grieved, and many are gratified—but what next? This is the eternal question about Ireland which never receives an answer. What have we to expect, except further violence and new hangings? blood shed and blood avenged? murders judicial and murders extra-judicial? a constant treatment of the body politic to the regimen of "the gibbet and the grave"? A pleasant prospect, truly; but yet, what other prospect is there? How many times is this old story to be repeated? Really, it would seem, according to the theory, until all the Irishmen have gone either to Heaven or to America! Why, this was Cromwell's theory. Castlereagh's theory, and we presume that it is the theory of Calcraft, her Majesty's Hangman!

## FLORIDA.

Our returns from this State of the vote on Convention are nearly complete, there being only six small counties not heard from. The following table gives the result. The registry is complete, with the exception of Santa Rosa County. There is a majority of probably 1,500 for a Convention. There are 45 delegates chosen, of whom 27 are white and 18 are colored men:

VOTE ON CONVENTION.—A WHOLE REGISTRY.—IN FAVOR. AGAINST. WHITE. COLORED.			
Alachua	102	13	115
Baker	102	13	115
Brevard	102	13	115
Calhoun	102	13	115
Clay	102	13	115
Columbia	102	13	115
De Soto	102	13	115
Dade	102	13	115
Franklin	102	13	115
Glades	102	13	115
Hamilton	102	13	115
Hillsdale	102	13	115
Hernando	102	13	115
Jefferson	102	13	115
Leon	102	13	115
Levy	102	13	115
Liberty	102	13	115
Madison	102	13	115
Manatee	102	13	115
Monroe	102	13	115
Nassau	102	13	115
Orange	102	13	115
Polk	102	13	115
St. John	102	13	115
St. Leon	102	13	115
Santa Rosa	102	13	115
Sumter	102	13	115
Taylor	102	13	115
Volusia	102	13	115
Wakulla	102	13	115
Washington	102	13	115
Walton	102	13	115
Total	13,844	62	10,804

## NORTH CAROLINA.

We have returns from 46 counties (there are 89 in the whole State), which make the following exhibit:

VOTE ON CONVENTION.—A WHOLE REGISTRY.—IN FAVOR. AGAINST. WHITE. COLORED.			
Ashe	944	320	1060
Bladen	813	343	754
Brunswick	792	230	1015
Camden	1042	280	1221
Catawba	1083	260	1315
Chatham	2116	500	2406
Chowan	821	277	586
Cleveland	828	392	1215
Columbus	808	265	744
Crawford	3222	588	1511
Duplin	1065	377	1414
Edgecombe	1072	331	1403
Franklin	1450	370	1810
Gaston	822	344	1067
Guilford	1083	260	1315
Hertford	2263	737	1095
Hitchcock	508	156	614
Hyde	302	102	200
Johnston	1329	300	1704
Lenoir	1134	343	1477
Lincoln	1072	331	1403
Madison	400	100	500
McDowell	408	102	510
Mecklenburg	1083	260	1315
Montgomery	744	211	955
New-Haven	2225	1081	1736
Onslow	605	100	705
Person	742	211	955
Robeson	1043	320	1363
Rowan	800	276	1076
Rutherford	1026	344	1410
Sampson	1129	344	1473
Sedgewick	89	100	189
Stokes	548	100	648
Tyrrell	116	100	216
Wake	4025	602	2998
Warren	2200	600	2800
Washington	1083	260	1315
Wayne	1272	328	1600
Wilson	884	252	1136
Wilkes	1430	259	2129
Total	33,801	17,096	26,705

It is notable that the prominent advocates of Impeachment have not had the sympathy of their colleagues. Messrs. Boutwell and Butler have been foremost in the hunt; but not one of their eight Massachusetts colleagues votes with them. Mr